DCCUMENT RESUME

ED 033 976 UD 000 521

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TITLE CPI: Window Dressing cr a Prcgram with Meaning.
Pub Date 12 Ncv 63
Ncte 23p.; Speech given at the Winchester Ccmmunity School (New Haven, Ccnn., November 12, 1963).

EDRS Price EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.25
Descriptors Ccmmunity Change, Ccmmunity Development, *Community Crganizaticns, *Community Programs, Community Services, Education, Emplcyment, Interagency Ccoperation, Pcverty Prcgrams, Prcgram Cccrdination
Identifiers *Community Progress Inc, Connecticut, CPI, New Haven

Abstract

A speech to a community fcrum reviews the organizaticn, functions, and prcgrams of Ccmmunity Progress, Inc. (CPI) in New Haven, Connecticut. CPI is ccncerned with raising the resources for a massive attack on poverty, with cccrdinating that effcrt, and with working cccperatively with like-minded community institutions. The major thrust cf the prograr is in areas of education, neighbcrhccd services, and employment. (NH)

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Remarks by: Mitchell Sviridoff

Dixwell Renewal Forum
Winchester Community School
New Haven, Connecticut
Tuesday, November 12, 1963
Topic: CPI: Window Dressing
or
A Program with Meaning

CPI (Community Progress, Inc.)

Looking at CPI is like looking through a kaleidoscope. At first glance, it's a jumble of shapes, sizes and colors. But turn any kaleidoscope around slowly and an interesting and rational--and sometimes even a beautiful--pattern will eventually emerge.

CPI has not been in existence long enough to produce a pattern of beauty. But it will be my contention that a careful look through this particular kaleidoscopic lens, even after 14 months of operations, will yield the beginning, at least, of an interesting and rational, and perhaps even a significant, design.

Before bringing things into focus, however--that is, before examining the meaning and significance of the emerging design as a whole--I propose to begin by defining the precise nature of the more important pieces which make up part of this design.

The first is a piece of history.

It is important to understand that CPI did not just happen. It did not fall from the sky. It was not the product of any one man's thought processes or imagination. And, political claptrap to the contrary, I assume that I needn't waste time to assure an audience as sophisticated as this one that CPI is not a conspiratorial, subversive plot. It is not even the product of the Ford Foundation.

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It is, instead, the result of a process of change which began in this city with Mayor Lee's first administration in 1954. More precisely, it began with the initiation of a massive counterattack by the city on the negative forces of economic and physical decay--forces which were beginning to engulf the city only a short 10 years ago. It began, if you will, with a program of physical and economic redevelopment.

It was the breadth and the boldness of this redevelopment process which helped to create a climate of change in this community. And it was then the dynamism of this process, operating as it was in sympathetic surroundings, which set in motion a chain reaction of responses from a number of institutions--responses which ultimately led to the formation of this new instrument, CPI, in the spring of 1962.

There was, for example, the early recognition by the Mayor and the Redevelopment Agency that the problems of the city could not be solved through a redevelopment or an industrial and business expansion program alone; that somehow the city had to come to grips at the same time with those social/human problems which grow out of conditions of poverty in the inner city and which in themselves feed that very process of decay which redevelopment attempts to reverse.

And so as a start, the Redevelopment Agency turned first to the Community Council of Greater New Haven and asked it to take the lead in bringing services to bear on social problems of relocatees. The Community Council is, after all, made up of all agencies, both public and private, that are in any way concerned with the solutions of social problems. As Paul Nagel, Executive Director of the United Fund and Community Council, so candidly admitted in a recent speech, the Council "got a C for effort and a D for performance."

What is really important, however, is not the initial inadequacy of the Council to do much better than it did in 1954, but rather that out of this experience it willingly and deliberately helped initiate and then entered into a significant community dialogue. This dialogue concerned itself with what was needed in order for the city to cope more effectively with the complexities of its social problems. But more important, it involved an introspective examination by the Council itself, of the limitations on its ability to cope with these problems unless it successfully worked with other institutions and groups in the community to bring about necessary and basic social changes--changes directed at the causes of poverty and the prevention of related social problems, rather than simply administering essential social services to the victims of poverty.

The Board of Education which itself was undergoing some interesting changes in its composition at approximately the same time was also drawn into the dialogue. It, too, engaged in some hard soul searching about whether it was able to meet the new needs of the urban community of the mid-20th century unless it, likewise, was willing to make some basic changes in its policies, orientation, and relationships with other social institutions. Its conclusions are a matter of public record. The decision to rebuild 40 per cent of New Haven's total plant and reorganize its grade system, the decision to adopt as school policy the community school concept, the commitment to a range of new programs directed at the educationally deprived, even prior to the Ford grant, bear testimony to the ability of this vital institution to reject the conventional wisdom and the tired cliches which have tended to dominate and stifle educational systems all over the country.

A host of individuals associated with other organizations and agencies participated in varying degrees in this important dialogue. But is was clearly the Redevelopment Agency, the Community Council, and the Board of Education which carried the central responsibility for finding a consensus around which a significant local effort could be made to help solve the social problems of the city--an effort that could serve, hopefully, as evidence to other cities that the downward spiral of decay, poverty and discrimination could indeed be reversed; and that the city could be saved from becoming a dismal place where only the very poor and the very rich and the very old might live.

The consensus which emerged has been ably stated by others many times starting with the original document titled, "Opening Opportunities."

Let me in the interest of time try to reduce this consensus to its most basic concepts.

1. There is ample evidence that the social problems of the cities of America are growing at a frightening pace. This is reflected in unemployment figures, delinquency and crime statistics, rates of illiteracy, illegitimacy, narcotics use, etc.

2. These problems are concentrated in areas where poverty is most prevalent; i.e., there seems to be a direct relationship between economic poverty and social maladjustment.

3. There are a number of new factors which militate against laissez-faire solutions to these problems--particularly the increasingly rapid decline in the number of unskilled jobs and the factor of color discrimination, both of which affect large numbers of the poverty population living in the city. This is to cite but two of many factors which differentiate the nature of city poverty of the 1960's from that of the 1920's when the

natural law of upward movement seemed to be working for large sectors of the poverty population.

4. On close examination it becomes obvious that conditions of poverty grow out of such a complex web of circumstances that no one program, whether it be education, housing, employment, or social services, can in itself lead to solutions on a significant scale.

5. What seems to be needed is a massive, coordinated, comprehensive and simultaneous attack on the causes of poverty if we are to prevent its further growth--an attack which will open doors of opportunity to those sectors of the population which, in a very real sense, have been denied equal opportunity.

6. To accomplish such a massive attack requires new resources. To coordinate it requires an effective instrument. And to plan and act comprehensively and effectively requires that various institutions must find ways to work within the context of premises and goals which are mutually acceptable.

This is what CPI is all about. It is an instrument designed: 1) to raise the resources necessary to fund a massive attack on conditions which lead to and grow out of poverty, 2) to coordinate that attack, and 3) to assure the comprehensiveness of that attack by working cooperatively with all of the major institutions in the community who subscribe to the basic premises and goals which I have already touched upon, albeit all too briefly.

Now how does all this get translated into meaningful programs?

The major thrust of programming to date has been in the closely related areas of education, neighborhood services, and employment.

Any assessment of program achievement, however, must start with the schools. For this is where nearly half of our resources have been concentrated. And more important, education is an absolute prerequisite to the opening of other opportunity doors--and particularly employment.

The special education programs are funded either wholly or in part by Ford or HEW funds which are processed through CPI. Though these programs constitute an integral part of the total CPI effort, they are initiated, planned and executed by the Board of Education. The extent of CPI involvement is determined by the Board of Education and by no one else. The ultimate decision to undertake new programs is, likewise, determined by the Board of Education. Charges that CPI is somehow exerting insidious and improper pressures on the Board of Education in the determination of school policy grow out of a gross underestimation of the strength and integrity of the local Board of Education, ignorance of the facts, or sheer maliciousness--and sometimes, I suspect, out of a combination of all three.

The range of programs both in and out of education are now so numerous that I can touch only very briefly on each one and trust that during the question period we can, if you wish, examine some of them in greater depth.

Since there must be a starting point, let us begin with the pre-school program now operating in six centers and serving 180 three- and four-year-old youngsters and their parents. Its purpose--to better prepare those youngsters, who because of certain deprivation, would most likely experience difficulty and eventual failure in adjusting to school; to equip them with skills which will help make a successful adjustment to school a realistic possibility.

A helping teacher program designed to improve the quality of teaching in those schools in our inner-city neighborhoods most in need of better instruction presently involves 9 helping teachers and serves 7 schools. There are plans for further expansion of this program.

An intensified reading program is supported by 10 additional reading specialists who work with teachers to improve the quality of teaching reading skills--clearly the most vital of all school subjects. In addition, the reading specialists work directly with those youngsters who require more intensive help in learning to read.

A Higher Horizons Program first undertaken on a trial basis in the spring of 1963 with 22 classrooms--K through grade 6--now involves 50 classrooms in grades K-8 in Baldwin, Lincoln, and Prince schools. In addition to working extensively in these three schools, the Higher Horizons Program will function on a limited scale in the other three inner-city neighborhoods. Its purpose--to test the assumption that children from disadvantaged homes or neighborhoods could and would benefit educationally from exposure to a wide variety of experiences and activities of a cultural and/or social nature. Programming in Higher Horizons involves the use of creative dramatics, story telling, imaginative use of new materials, visits by business and professional leaders, authors, artists, musicians and scientists, dance, drama, and a junior great books program--to mention but a few.

As part of the Higher Horizons Program, a special summer school undertaken for the first time last summer attracted on a voluntary basis 1800 youngsters--grades 4-12--for six weeks, four hours a day of special educational offerings ranging from "remedial reading" and "math" to "propaganda analysis" and "continential cookery." The response from

both students and teachers was so enthusiastic that I am prepared to predict now that the summer school is one new program that is here to stay.

A modified curriculum program ultimately involving approximately 60 ninth graders has been initiated this year. It will provide a non-traditional curriculum geared to the special interests and needs of the participants, all of whom have a history of non-conforming behavior. The special curriculum will focus on social learning before it stresses academic skills.

A psycho-education experiment involving Yale psychologists stationed in two elementary schools is an attempt to test ways in which this particular discipline can be used to assist teachers in dealing with difficult student behavior problems.

A pilot individualized curriculum program has been introduced this year at Bassett Junior High. This is an effort to find a viable alternative to the rigid course labeling practices which have come to dominate secondary education, and which tend to deny non-college-oriented youngsters equal educational opportunities. This is an effort to live up to the democratic ideal of providing educational programs which will meet individual needs and potentialities of all students--not just the college bound.

In addition to these programs already functioning in the schools, a number of additional programs are in various stages of development. These include:

1. An experimental program to prevent dropouts and raise achievement level in grades five and six in selected inner-city schools.

2. A seventh and eighth-grade program with parent participation which will involve two schools with both parents and children who volunteer to participate. Its purpose--to raise aspirations and bring about greater motivation for school achievement.

3. An experimental program for eighth-grade potential school dropouts in Bassett Junior High School. This will be an attempt to compare the effects of remedial reading in the formal classroom setting with a situation where help with reading is offered in an informally structured class titled "useful skills." Here help with reading will be related to reading material which has a direct connection with projects undertaken by the participants.

4. A work-study program for 24 potential dropouts at Bassett is almost ready to become operational. Participants in this program will be assigned to work as dietary aides, maintenance assistants, library aides, teacher aides, and clerical assistants. This pilot program will involve 12 boys and 12 girls at the ninth-grade level who have ability but somehow have not been motivated to achieve successfully in the school setting.

A unique feature of the program will be a daily 25-minute individual guidance and counseling session with the students in order to prepare them for their job assignments, encourage proper study habits, teach budgeting finance, and stimulate a study of related occupations and an appreciation for the dignity of labor.

5. A pre-vocational high school course for 20 boys who applied to Eli Whitney Vocational Technical School and were not admitted. This will be a special three-year course to prepare students with marketable skills. It will start and end at a later hour of the day than normal high school courses. There may be on-the-job experience in the senior year.

6. A special three-year high school course for approximately 20 girls in home management and marketable skills, intended either for those who applied to Eli Whitney and were not admitted or for those whose interest in school might be increased by courses of a practical nature.

7. A pre-technical program designed to interest students who applied to Eli Whitney and were not admitted, to begin at tenth grade to prepare for middle technical skill occupations, or perhaps continue preparing for careers in science or mathematics beyond high school. Curriculum adjustments will make possible functional science courses.

8. A business education program under which the Supervisor of Business Education will be responsible for developing specialized work-study programs in distributive occupations, retail selling and office occupations in cooperation with various community organizations.

9. Study clinics to offer students a place to study under competent guidance in high school and junior high school libraries. Trained school personnel, adult volunteers and student tutors will man the study clinics. Student tutors will be participating in a work-study program which rewards students' abilities by enabling them to utilize their abilities in paid work.

10. In order to stimulate the concept of service and also to help reserve paid jobs for those most in need, the schools will soon appoint a director of Volunteer Services to develop opportunities and encourage participation in volunteer activities.

Standing by themselves, this represents a substantial range of new school programs. But there are at least two other school programs which deserve particular attention.

The first is a literacy program which started last spring with but four participants, and which now includes between 180 to 200 adolescents and adults. Some of the participants have already made arrangements to attend night school and study for full high school graduation certificates. Many of them were candidates originally for work training programs who couldn't qualify for the most elementary of training for lack of ability to read.

The second is the very heart of the entire CPI effort--the community school. Here is a concept which says, in effect, that the school in the urban setting, if it is to be an effective center of education, must assume broader responsibilities than those which have been traditionally expected of it. To quote Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Paquin: "This does not mean that the school is no longer concerned about teaching children to read, to write, to calculate, to spell, and so on. On the contrary--it strives even harder to do these things because it knows better the consequences of failure.

"The idea of the community school is that the school functions in four ways:

"1. As an educational center--as the place where children and adults have opportunities for study and learning.

"2. As a neighborhood community center--as the place where citizens of all ages may take part in such things as sports, physical fitness programs, informal recreation, arts and crafts classes, civic meetings, and other similar leisure-time activities.

"3. As a center for community services--as the place where individuals and families may obtain health services, counseling services, legal aid, employment services, and the like.

"4. As an important center of neighborhood or community life--the idea being that the school will serve as the institutional agency that will assist citizens in the study and solution of significant neighborhood problems.

"This community school idea is now a reality in six New Haven schools and eventually it will be extended to ten. There is good reason to believe that the New Haven community and the New Haven school system recognize that in an urban society the role and responsibility of a school system is quite different from the role and responsibility of school systems in rural or suburban communities."

Now this is not to say that the community school concept is fully operational in all six schools. Indeed it is not. But the basic logistical prerequisites--budget, staff, custodial services, etc.--have all been worked out. The concentration now is on clarifying immediate as well as long-range goals and organizing together with other public and private agencies meaningful programs which grow out of the special needs and desires of the individual neighborhoods.

Working closely with the community school coordinators and assistant principals for community school programs is a CPI neighborhood staff headed by professionally qualified neighborhood service coordinators.

Neighborhood workers, numbering from one to three per neighborhood, who are indigenous to their neighborhoods, assist the coordinator in implementing the basic CPI programs in employment, delinquency control, neighborhood organizations, the coordination of social services, housing, etc.

In effect, the CPI neighborhood staff housed in community schools represent the outside coordinative and action arm of the community school team. The neighborhood team is specifically charged with the primary responsibility for the implementation of the last two of the four community school responsibilities already enumerated, namely:

--the school as a center for social services; and,

--the school as a center for the solution of neighborhood problems.

In connection with the latter, the neighborhood service teams have been working closely and in a variety of interesting ways with neighborhood leadership in an effort to strengthen the role of neighborhood organizations.

About to be added to these school teams in the very near future as a result of the recent grant of the President's Committee on Delinquency will be five full-time Park and Recreation Department recreation supervisors and four full-time detached youth group workers assigned to the program by various private group work agencies such as the Dixwell Community House and the YM-YWCA.

These four workers--the community school coordinator, the neighborhood service coordinator, the recreation supervisor, and the group worker--will, under the coordinative leadership of the community school coordinators, plan recreation, leisure time, educational and special group programs in consultation with their respective neighborhood leadership. Programs will be designed to meet the normal needs and interests of the community, but in addition, will consider ways in which they can help to counteract those neighborhood conditions which tend to contribute to youth delinquency.

The recent grant of the President's Committee also extends new resources to the Youth Bureau of the Police Department, sufficient to raise its present youth staff from three to six, and provides additional resources, too, for the strengthening of both juvenile and adult probation services. It is our expectation that these new law and correctional resources will integrate and relate their work with particular youngsters to the special program opportunities which this new grant makes possible.

As already mentioned along with education, the search for a meaningful solution to our employment and manpower problem represents a major emphasis of the total CPI effort.

The Manpower Program at CPI has been designed to demonstrate that "hard-core" unemployment (primarily school dropouts and minority groups) can be reduced through a pooling of employment and training resources at the local level in the form of working committees. Because these committees tailor training programs to fit the specific needs of community employers, certain arbitrary barriers to employment, such as the high school diploma, can be overcome. The top-level working committee is the Mayor's Committee on Manpower Resources and Employment. Special working committees are established to provide training programs for specific jobs where placement is assured to successful trainees. These working committees are made up of the employer, the union (where jobs are in a bargaining unit), education (state and local), the Connecticut Department of Labor (Employment Service and Apprenticeship), and CPI.

Four elements are critical in the CPI Manpower Program: (1) the instrument of the working committee, (2) specific commitments of jobs from employers prior to training, (3) tailor-made training programs (including remedial work) geared to specific job requirements, and (4) the rendering of supportive services to the trainees at the neighborhood level--a service carried out by CPI's neighborhood services teams located in the six target neighborhoods.

In February of 1963, CPI and the U. S. Secretary of Labor (acting through the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training) entered into a one-year contract in which it was agreed that CPI would engage in a special program providing for the testing and selection of youth in New Haven, and would counsel these youth before, during, and after their occupational training, and render such other services as were outlined in the "Special Training Project for New Haven." It was further recognized that actual training would be conducted by the appropriate state vocational and educational agencies under the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

In June of 1963, CPI entered into a $300,000 contract with OMAT in which it was agreed that CPI would provide a special youth employment program in New Haven. The program has two phases:

1. Three neighborhood-based employment centers (now opened) will give intensive individualized service to 400 unemployed youth 16-21 years of age. The program includes interviewing and testing for evaluation, individual counseling, referral to training, and placement of those ready for employment. Counseling will continue throughout training and after placement, if required.

2. Training programs for up to 400, 16-21 year-old, out-of-school unemployed youth from New Haven inner-city neighborhoods will include school dropouts as well as high school graduates. The purpose will be to prepare the youth for work opportunities identified in the community by raising the youth's level of competence.

Since the Manpower Program at CPI became operational in September, 1962, nearly 200 men and women have been trained under the MDTA for middle-skill jobs. Approximately 50 per cent of these trainees are Negroes; approximately 50 per cent high school dropouts. All, save a handful, were placed within a few weeks of graduation from training programs. Approximately one-third of the trainees were between the ages of 16 and 21 at the time of training. 36 per cent of these trainees had less than six months' employment in the year preceding training.

As a result of the first year's activity, an increasing number of local employers have requested that CPI recruit for direct placement on specific jobs. These employers have shown that they are more than willing to participate in a program designed to reduce chronic unemployment when that program included such services as those offered by CPI--counseling, testing, remedial work, and supportive services. In many instances, a recommendation from CPI is sufficient guarantee to these employers that youth, school dropouts and minority group members will perform successfully, and if necessary, can be trained on the job.

As an example of program activity in this area, it would be interesting to scan the CPI Manpower Report for the month of October.

The Manpower staff during this month interviewed 63 persons seeking employment and/or training. Of these, 22 were placed directly on jobs. Of the 22, sixteen are Negroes, one is female, and twelve are between the ages of 16 and 22. Among employers are: Yale (Physical Plant and a laboratory); Eastern Press; Multi-Plastics; Southern New England Telephone Company; Humble Oil; Foster Electric Plant; Second National Bank; American Telephone Company; and Schick Razor Company.

In addition, one graduate of a summer training program for chefs and one graduate of a summer program for X-ray technicians at AVCO were placed in training-related jobs.

A CPI-sponsored, MDTA training program for retail sales got underway on October 29. Of the sixteen females in the program, thirteen are Negroes, all are under 21 years of age, and all were recruited by CPI. A major department store has already agreed to hire at least four graduates. A special committee has been formed to arrange placement of the remaining graduates.

A meeting with a Vice President of Macy's Department Store, arranged by the Mayor, resulted in an agreement with Macy's to participate in a number of CPI-sponsored training programs in the filling of some 800 to 1,000 jobs, ranging from entry to executive level.

CPI has been actively recruiting trainees for a CSES-sponsored beginning typing course and refresher typing course. Of a total of 35 in both courses, CPI staff recruited nearly one-half. The courses began on October 14. The refresher course will last 10 weeks; the beginners' course, 20 weeks.

CPI has been active in the recruitment of 15 male youths, 16 to 22, for a CPI-CSES-sponsored auto mechanics training program. Training will begin on November 18.

CPI has held a number of meetings with representatives of two New Haven hospitals to design a training program for approximately 15 operating room technicians. The program should be underway in the early part of December.

Meetings have been held with representatives from local agencies which provide homemaking services to the community. A training program for home-aides will get underway before January 1, 1964.

Despite this extraordinary range of activity, there remains a great deal yet to be done in the design and implementation of the manpower and employment programs.

Ahead of us lies the possibility of an adult OMAT grant which will enable us to duplicate at the neighborhood level for adults what we now have the resources to do for 400, 16-21 year olds.

We are currently working with the State Vocational Education Department and the Mayor's office in an effort to locate a building which will serve to house a central skill center. State Vocational Education which has the primary responsibility for the design and direction of training programs estimates that such a skill center would cut our lead time in planning training programs at least in half.

An interesting phase of the CPI employment effort is a special work crew program for out-of-school adolescent boys who have run into difficulties which seriously hamper their ability to either obtain a decent job or to further their education.

Working in small groups and under close supervision, participants work for four hours a day, 5 days a week, on a variety of meaningful job assignments. They spend an additional two hours a day in special education, recreation and counseling programs. A $20 a week subsistence allowance is paid for a full week of participation. The Dixwell Community House is presently supervising one such crew. Arrangements are now being made with the Park Department for two additional crews--one to work in the horticultural center and another in the West Rock Nature Center.

The city has provided $36,000 in the 1964 budget for a home-town corps program of this type. This will supplement the resources provided by the President's Committee grant. Additional programs are in various stages of planning with other agencies.

The purpose of the work crew or home-town corps program is to provide a stepping stone to other more significant training or employment opportunities or alternatively to a return to school. It is significant that of 20 participants in a pilot program last summer, seven voluntarily chose to return to school.

The pressure of time compels me to tick off by title and with the briefest of explanations some of the other related CPI activities.

Together with the Community Council, the Department of Public Health, the major hospitals, and the appropriate health agencies, we have begun in the Wooster Square area, the long process of moving from child-centered health services to focusing on the health needs of the family in the community. A health planning group, with the Director of the Health Department of Chairman, is also considering ways of better utilizing city health services which are presently available as well as

identifying gaps in existing services. Currently, the committee is also developing a health plan proposal for the Elm Haven Housing Project to be submitted to the Public Health Service.

Working with the Board of Education, we are exploring now the possibilities of a major program of higher education scholarships for disadvantaged youngsters. Next week representatives of the Board of Education and CPI will spend two days in Kansas City examining in depth one of the best-planned and most effective scholarship programs in the country. Hopefully, this will serve as a model for what might well be our next major thrust in "opening opportunities."

In January of 1963, the Elm Haven Housing Project was designated by the President's Task Force on Concerted Services as the second project in the country to qualify for special federal aid for a comprehensive concerted service program. At the request of Mayor Lee, CPI acted as coordinator of planning in the initial planning stages. The Housing Authority has since appointed a task force director with whom CPI and the Community Council are currently working to move the plan for concerted services from the planning to the action phase. The various federal agencies willing, this happy day should not be too far off.

In the field of housing, our major effort has been one of support to the Housing Authority and the Redevelopment Agency in the execution of a special large family, low-income demonstration program. In this connection, CPI was delegated the specific responsibility of developing and coordinating a program of concentrated social services to families involved in the housing demonstration. It is our plan to use the experience gained in this program as the basis for developing a similar social service instrument for use on the neighborhood level.

A Neighborhood Social-Legal Program to provide equal opportunity for legal services in New Haven is in its final planning phase. It has been functioning on a limited basis in two neighborhoods. Our staff here has been primarily concerned with such common problems as crooked sales and unfair installment practices. They are also developing educational programs for neighborhood citizens in their legal rights and obligations. The results of this past year's planning will be discussed in greater detail at a meeting of the County Bar Association in the near future.

A number of other program ideas are beginning now to "cook on the back burner." But until they are ready to be moved forward to the "front burner," discussion of them would be premature--or as part of the title of this presentation asserts, mere "window dressing."

CPI research staff will evaluate all programs to determine their effectiveness. This will help us to decide which programs should be recommended for continuation at the end of the demonstration. Because of an expressed national interest, we are giving special attention to the evaluation of our manpower and youth development programs.

It is proper now to ask whether it is indeed realistic to expect the CPI effort to provide the ultimate answers to the social problems which plague this and other American cities.

My response is a qualified no. No local effort, no matter how massive, no matter how well planned or executed, can in and of itself solve problems which have such deep national implications.

The New Haven economy, after all, does not operate in a vacuum. It is an integral part of a national economy. If the national economy does not grow sufficiently to provide a level of reasonably full employment, the best local education and employment efforts cannot provide every able bodied, willing worker in New Haven with employment.

On the otherhand, it must also be recognized that a vital factor in reaching high levels of economic growth and full employment is the achievement of the highest possible levels of education and skill.

There are legislative implications, too, that are significantly involved in a solution to the cities' social problems. The kind of civil rights, housing, manpower, urban affairs, tax and education legislation that will be enacted in this and the next session of Congress will be as vital in determining the course of events in our cities as anything we might do locally.

But to use this, as some do, to deprecate local efforts of the type this city is undertaking, is to abdicate responsibility. For it can also be argued that legislation, whether local, state or national, can be significantly influenced by effective demonstration at the local level of what is needed and what can be accomplished. And furthermore, legislation and government policy is only as good as a local community's initiative and implementation will make it.

While I am responding to the arguments that are most frequently made to me, let me say to those who argue that what is really needed are more social service programs, that the CPI programs are not offered as an alternative to social services. Rather, it is our judgment that they can significantly complement good social service. And what is really needed is the best of both.

Neither, while I'm at it, is CPI offered as an alternative to direct or protest action. Instead, it ought to represent an instrument for the achievement of some of the objectives of responsible protest or direct action.

What I am saying in essence is that it is not only too early in our existence to make a realistic appraisal of success or failure. But under the best of circumstances, we cannot be looked upon--indeed, we dare not look upon ourselves--as being capable, by ourselves, of achieving the ultimate answers to the social problems of the urban center. There is a vital role for economic policy and for legislative policy at all levels, for the strengthening of existing social services and even for responsible protest.

And having said this, I hasten to add that even at this early stage of our existence I suspect that there is an important role for what CPI represents as well.